Stet Att

LXIV.

The Addresses

Importing an

ABHORRENCE.

OF

An Association,

Pretended to have been seized in the E. of *Shafts bury's* Closet, Laid open and Detected.

In a Letter to a Friend.

SIR,

I Perceive by yours of *March* 4*th.* that the *Fermentation* which the Nation is put into, must be cherished by the same ways and methods that it was first occasioned and caused: For should the heavy and animosities among Protestants be once suffered to asswage and abate, the *Romish* Designs against the Protestant Religion and the Liberties of *England*, would not only miscarry and prove abortive; but they who have been wheedled to betray God and their Country, by contributing ignorantly to the promotion and service of their Ends, would be the first to express their Indignation against the Papists, both as an effect of their resentment, for having been through their influence, thrown into a *Lunacy* and *Delirium*, and as an Evidence to the Kingdom that they are at last cured of their Distraction. And therefore the Operation and Efficacy of the *Declaration* against the two last Parliaments being wholly spent, I am not surprised to find an advantage taken from a pretended Paper, importing an Unlawful *Association* against the Government; for the perpetuating rancours amongst His Majesties Leige People, and the casting those back again into a Fever, who were recovering their senses, and coming to a sedate mind: And as all men are worse upon Relapses than they were of their first Diseases; so we are not to think it strange, that people are more extravagant in their late Addresses, than they were in the former. But there being so many things to be said in return to your Letter, and being by Command confined to represent my Thoughts in one Sheet, I shall Preface no farther, but apply my self to obey you in the most compendious manner I can.

Nor shall I pronounce that of the late Addresses, which a Celebrated and Court-Author doth, concerning those made to *Oliver Cromwell*; namely, *That they were no other than Leagues Offensive and Defensive between him and the Faction*, and *that while his Care was for engaging one Party, it was for destroying another*. For though some little Folk, who officiously manage this affair, may have such a Project, yet it is impossible that His Majesty should either propose or countenance so base and destructive a Design. Memento 2d Edit. p. 29.

Nor will I say, That it had been but reasonable, That they who do embark in new Addresses, should have first seen the fruits and effect of their former: For whereas they seek to justifie themselves in what they did, by the Assurances which they suppose His Majesty gave them of having frequent Parliaments, though he had Dissolved Two or Three, without giving them time to perfect those important Matters which the whole Nation apprehended they were called for; so it would have been some Argument of the Candor and Sincerity of their intentions in what they did before, if they had forborn their late Applications, till they had found that they were not mistaken in the

grounds upon which they think to vindicate themselves for what they then did.

Neither will I insist upon this, That it had become them to be well assured that there was such a Paper stiled an *Association* found in my Lord *Shaftsbury*'s Closet, before they took upon them to talk so loudly of it, and vent themselves in so strange and unaccountable expressions upon Mr *Gwyns* bare suggestion of such a thing. For as it is most certain, that it was not the foundation of my Lords Apprehension and Commitment, seeing the Bag into which it was put, when said to be seised in his *Lordships* Study, was not opened till after his Confinement in the Tower for High Treason; so it is not impossible but that they who had the confidence to impose other things upon this Noble Peer in the printed Relation of the proceedings at the *Old-Bayly*, than were deposed by the Witnesses in Court, might with the same liberty and for the same end, forge and invent this Paper, and ascribe it to his Lordship. For whereas *Smith* upon giving his Evidence at the Bar said, that the Earl of *Shaftsbury told him he was* sorry *that the King saw not his danger*, &c. They who undertook the communicating those *proceedings* to the World, make *Smith* declare upon Oath that the said Earl told him, *he was* glad *the King saw not his danger*.

Nor shall I insist upon this, That it had been but congruous, and what became *English* men, to have testified their detestation of the many late *Sham Plots* whereby our Enemies have been endeavouring to destroy Loyal and innocent Protestants, as well as their declaring an Abhorrency of a pretended *Association* against the Monarchy; and the rather, because the forging crimes for involving guiltless persons in danger, hath been real; whereas such an *Association* as the late Clamour is raised upon, was, for what yet appears, only feigned and imaginary. We have seen some of the best persons in the Kingdom cast into Prisons and arraigned in Courts upon malicious subornations, and Popish *Sham* conspiracies; but no man can produce so much as a Name subscribed to any Paper, whereby to perswade himself or others of a combination against His Majesty and the Government. Nor can they be thought to bear any great Loyalty to the King, who have not some regard for the safety of his Protestant Subjects, and the preservation of the Protestant Religion. And therefore while some are so busie here and there to gather hands to Addresses of another Nature, it were but a seasonable piece of service to the King, and a duty which all Law both Divine and Humane will justifie, for others to make an Address to His Majesty, that we may have the benefit and protection of his Government, and that our Lives and Estates may be defended from the malice of those, who by hiring and suborning mercinary Villians to swear forged Crimes against us, have been unweariedly designing our ruin. And as it is not to be supposed that an application of this nature would be unacceptable to the King, the end and aim of his Reign being not only to look after our obedience to his Law, but to see that we are kept safe from the wrath and rage of our Enemies; so it would tend to the honour of *London* to lead the way to others in so useful, and at this time so necessary a duty.

Nor shall I do more but barely intimate, that it looks ill, and seems calculated for no good design, to find Addresses for dissolving Parliaments, and abhorring all *Associations*, countenanced and promoted, while Petitions for a Parliament were forbidden by Proclamation, and the Petitioners publickly reprimanded. For supposing that some one Paper bearing the Name of an *Association*, was unduly fram'd and worded; is this a justifiable ground to ridicule and Abhor every *Association*, tho' never so well adapted for the preservation of His Majesties Person and Dignity, and promoted in a Parliamentary way, and not to take till it receive the Royal stamp? How strangely does it look in a well-governed State, to find such a one as the Mayor of *Gl.* who was admitted into the freedom of that City, *for the good service which he did in fighting against* Charles Steward *at Worcester*, (as the words inserted in their Town-Book bear) to be hugg'd and embraced for advancing Addresses of one complection, while in the mean time many Loyal Gentlemen who shed their Blood, lost their Estates and underwent Imprisonment and Exile for the King are frown'd upon for offering to appear in applications of another figure. Men of Principles act always uniformly; whereas such as are sway'd by interest, are ready to engage with the same heat in every thing that lyes in subservience to their gain. Some people think it not enough to attone for their former actions by their future Loyalty, but they seek to expiate their Crimes on one side, by running into illegal, rigorous, and mad excesses on the other. And I heartily wish, that an eminent Magistrate in the City of *London*, may not hope to make a compensation for having been a Clerk to a Regiment in the War against the late King, by complying with and pursuing whatsoever some men about the Court, or such who are influenced by those that are, put him upon. But what is this age degenerated into, that they

who

who have ſerved themſelves of Diſſenters in order to their getting into places of Truſt, by proclaiming what bleſſed opportunities they have enjoyed with that ſort of men under this and that Nonconformiſt Miniſter, ſhould inſtead of expreſſing a concern for the Proteſtant Religion anſwerable to the are of it and the ſtations they are in, not only abandon, but from weakneſs, fear, or worſe Principles, ſubmit to be Tools to accelerate its ruine.

However I am ſure the Government hath no cauſe of apprehending danger either from Phanatick Preachers or Poeple, ſeeing ſome of the moſt fam'd amongſt them, after having been a hundred times deceived and impoſed upon, are ſtill ready to be brib'd by a dinner or a ſmile, or wheedled by a fair word to co-operate with their enemies, and become inſtrumental of their own deſtruction. And therefore it is to be deſired, that ſome of the diſſenting Eccleſiaſticks would be contented with Grace, which is the Talent that God hath given them, and not pretend to Civil Wiſdom, ſeeing it is evident to all the world, that the Great Diſpenſer hath withheld it from them.

Theſe thing being briefly intimated, it is now time to advance thoſe Reflexions and Obſervations which we judg proper to be offered upon the occaſion of the late Abhorring Addreſſes. Nor will it be amiſs in the firſt place, to take notice how ſome mens opinions concerning theſe kind of Applications, do alter and vary according to, and in correſpondence with the deſign and intereſts which men ſerve. For the very perſon that is not only principally employ'd in framing the draughts which are remitted into the Countrey, where Lieutennants, Juſtices and Curates, are commiſſioned to procure ſubſcriptions to them, but whoſe Province it is to publiſh their uſefulneſs to the Government, and to make the world believe what ſecurity the State receiveth from them in order to its ſupport in the purſuance of preſent Councels: I ſay, this very Gentleman had different thoughts concerning Addreſſes ſome years ago when they came in ſholes to *Oliver Cromwell*, and with great multitudes of hands ſubjoined to them, from what he now hath.

For ſays he, *Thoſe numerous and pretended Applications*, as they were but *an Artifice to piece up the Protectors broken Power as far as well it could be, ſo they were but falſe Gloſſes upon his Power, and* Cromwel *was too wiſe to think them other. For being gained by contrivement and force, or at leaſt by importunity; half a ſcore pitiful wretches ſtiled themſelves the people of ſuch or ſuch a Conny, and there was the Total of the reckoning.*

See Mr. L'Eſtranges Memento p. 30.

But we may the leſs wonder at this change of Judgment in ſome men, as to the ſignificancy or inſignificancy of Addreſſes, if we conſider how the opinion of the Papiſts is much altered from what it was 90 years ago, as to the Right which the next in the Royal Line hath to inherit the Crown after the Ruling Prince. For whereas we have nothing from them now, but that it is an unpardonable Sin to exclude the Preſumptive Heir, be his Principles what they will, and our danger from him in caſe he ſucceed, never ſo viſible; they ſpake another kind of Language towards the end of Queen *Elizabeths* Reign, when they foreſaw that a Proteſtant was likely after her to aſcend the Throne; namely, *That Succeſſion to Government is neither eſtabliſhed by the Law of Nature, nor the Law of Revelation, but only by Humane Sanctions, which men may cancel and alter as their intereſt determines them.* For though they tell us now of the indiſpenſable Obligations we are under, of ſubmitting quietly, in caſe His Majeſty ſhould Die, to the D. of Y. albeit we cannot but think the ſubverſion of our Religion and the extirpation of our ſelves ready to enſue thereupon; yet they were pleaſed to tell our Anceſtors, that no Free people were under Ties to the next of the Royal Line, but that they ought to put the Scepter into ſuch a ones hand, under whom they might promiſe themſelves to live with Safety and Honour.

See Doleman.

But we may the more eaſily pardon the Papiſts for ſhifting Principles according to the poſture which their affairs ſtand in, if we will obſerve how the Proteſtants of this Age differ from thoſe of the former, in reference to the duty of ſubmitting to, or debarring a Popiſh Succeſſor: For whereas heretofore not only the whole Clergy, but the Nobility and Gentry, Courtiers as well as others, derived their main Arguments againſt *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, from the danger that the Proteſtant Religion would be in, if being in their power, ſhe were ſuffered to ſurvive Queen *Elizabeth*: It is now come to paſs, that many of all Orders and Ranks, who pretend themſelves Proteſtants, are not only contented that a Popiſh Prince may be diſpenſed with as to his Religion himſelf, and live quietly amongſt them, but they ſeem uneaſie in having a Proteſtant King, and long to have one of Popiſh Principles to Rule over them. How diſagreeable as to a Popiſh Succeſſor, are the late Addreſſes, from the Petitions, Votes and Acts of Parliament, and the carriage of the whole Kingdom in the 14 2. 28 and 29 years of

See Bowes Journals.

Queen

Queen *Elizabeth*? Then an *Association* to Revenge the Death of the Queen upon the Papists, in case she came to an untimely end, was esteemed a piece of Loyalty, and promoted by the Chief Ministers of State; but now the Abhorring not only an ill-fram'd Paper bearing that Title, but all kinds of *Associations* of this nature and tendency, if His Majesty should fall by Popish hands, is accounted the Character both of a good Subject, and a true Church-of-*England* man. Do we live in the same Clime that our Ancestors did? or doth the like generous Blood run in our Veins, which did in theirs? Alas, by running counter to the wisdom of our Forefathers, we proclaim our selves a degenerate Issue, and are a reproach to the Memory of them who begot us, and who transmitted the Protestant Religion and *English* Liberties down to us!

And as all Addresses of this Nature tend to render the King, who ought to Reign in the hearts of all his People, the Head meerly of one part, and that a very inconsiderable one if compared with the bulk of the Nation; so they only serve to publish to all the world the distractions of the Kingdom, and to proclaim in the face of the Sun the weaknes of the Government. What do the forreigners say upon the perusal of our *Gazets*, but that either things are not managed in *England* according to the Laws of the Constitution, or that his Majesty of great *Britain* Reigns precariously, seeing his Ministers seek to support the Transactions of State, by courting the applause of a few little folk here and there through the Kingdom? Nor can any sort of men do the King a greater disservice, than to administer grounds to our neighbours abroad, to entertain such sentiments of us and our affairs. I tremble to think what the wisest amongst our selves say of these proceedings; for tho' all men acquit his Majesty from any intentions but what are gracious as well as just; yet they cannot but judg that some ill men are by these Addresses endeavouring to number the People, and to enroll Partisans for some hidden design.

But the most fatal effect and consequence of these Addresses, is the depriving the King of that security which the wisdom of the Parliament had provided for his Person against the Papists. For as nothing is so dear to a true *English* Parliament, as the Life of their Sovereign; so the best expedient which our late Parliaments could think of to preserve his Majesty from the dangers which he was exposed unto from the conspiracies of the Romish Crew, was the proposing an *Association* amongst Protestants to revenge his Death. And as they could entertain no friendship for the King, who advised him to dissolve the Parliament before that Bill was prepared and past; so it is apparent, that whosoever countenanceth the abhorrence of all *Associations*, does what in him lyes to leave the King open and naked to the hellish designs of the Romish Faction.

Nor is it unworthy the serious consideration of all Loyal persons, how they have both provided against the revenge of the Nation, and for their own establishment in Power, in case His Majesty should be taken off; for as they have excluded all endeavours of revenging his Death, by getting every thing *ridicul'd* and *abhorred*, that lies in a subserviency thereunto; so they have taken care for their own safety after the perpetration of such a Villany, by obtaining all places Civil and Military to be filled with such in whom they may intirely confide; and as it is not long since the King of *Portugal* was laid aside and confined to the *Tarcera's*; so it is remarkable, That it was effected without a Blow, and by this more than any thing else, That there was none in publick employ, but who were Zealots for his Brother that supplanted him, and stept into his Throne.

But are such as Subscribe these Addresses, sensible whereabout we are, and how much the Popish interest is advanced within these two years? for hath not the D. of Y. intruded himself into the administration of affairs in *Scotland*, without taking the Oaths which the Laws of that Kingdom do require? Hath he not at the same time that he caused Protestant Dissenters to be disturbed and apprehended, permitted Mass to be said under the same Roof, or at the next Door? Hath he given any security to Protestants there, for their safety in the Profession of the Protestant Religion, tho' he hath gotten himself excepted from all Tests that relate to the preservation or Liberty of it? Are not the Papists in *Lancashire* arrived to that boldness, as to Murder His Majesties Officers in the discharge of their Duty, and to rescue Recusants out of the hands of those that had taken them in Execution? Hath not the High Sheriff of *Northumberland* carried Esq; *Riddel* and Elq, *Claverins*, and divers other Papists who were Prisoners for the Popish Plot, to *Edenburgh*, to Kiss the Dukes hand, and this both in defiance of all Law, and against his Trust? But it would require a Volume to recount all I know of this nature: and therefore shall only add, That they must be prepared to worship the *Host*, and wear Chains, who either promote or subscribe the Addresses which are now carrying on.

I am

Sir, intirely yours.

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